until all the insects are swimming around on the top. Then he scoops them up with his hands, squeezes out the water and dries them over the fire until the edible ones can be separated from the rest. The pure "Hottentot rice," "!gibes, obtained in this manner, has already been slightly roasted while drying over the fire and is usually eaten without anything added.

I have often seen the insects eaten alive while being collected. While the old man fishes out the insects from the dark muddy water, the children squat around and put in their mouths anything that is crawling about. I found the animals without taste when eaten alive but when roasted they taste very good.

One dish, that cannot be depended upon every year, but which is very hearty when offered, is migratory locusts. Wherever a swarm has landed, it covers the ground and loads (!ga'e) the bushes by the thousands. Therefore the Hottentot calls the insects that sit on the branches "!ga'ɔ̃ũ'ms. Among these, the females loaded with eggs, "!kx̃ũ/ũũ'mti, are the most in demand. When they have retired to their nocturnal quarters after the day's work, which consists of egg-laying, and hang massed together on the branches, the Hottentot sets fire to the bush. It flares up all over. The next morning the ashes are swept up with branches, gathered up in skins and spread out on large flat rocks. The insects with eggs are sorted out. The others are only collected if there are not enough of the ones with eggs. The collected insects are put in sacks and brought to the huts on oxen.

[192] There the mass is spread out, women sit in a circle around it and pulverize it with stones. When it is prepared, the soft light-brown mass is loaded into skin sacks and stored. When stirred up with milk it is supposed to be better tasting than when raw.

Although a swarm of locusts is a terrible plague, often destroying pasture lands, still locust burning time is a festival, at least for the young people. When the area of the locust plague is far away, the young people are released from the watchfulness of the old people, who stay home near the huts, and they now enjoy unrestrained freedom, particularly in the sexual sense.

The superabundance of food allows communistic principles, always a living force among the Hottentots, to be practiced without restrictions. A person who has gathered locusts may not prevent another from eating them. Even a gesture of refusal is despised. Whoever violates of this custom, will, according to their belief, be punished by becoming sick from the locust meal. However bestial a meal of

The Hottentot women love to paint dark, fantastic masks on their faces. 302
Black or red powder is rubbed with a leather cloth on the face which has 306
been previously greased. They get black powder from the knotty parts of 324
the lower trunk of a Pelargonium, which are thoroughly roasted and then
a dusty, crumbly, dark mass can be easily knocked off their bark. Those
who prefer red make a powder called "!gaib from the dry heartwood of a
giraffe acacia. When the face is all powdered, the painted parts of the
face are sharply outlined with a damp tip of a cloth in front of a mirror.
Here and there the face is wiped clean, until the face is partly covered
as with a Mardi gras mask, out of which sometimes only the eyes and
nostrils peer or perhaps the side parts of the forehead and the cheeks show,
according to the taste of the artist.

4. Care of the Hair

Care of the hair is usually completely neglected. Along the coast, 302
the Hottentot sometimes washes his head with the yolks of raw penguin
eggs in order [211] to encourage the growth of hair. I never saw anyone
with his hair cut. An old-fashioned Hottentot used to brush his hair with
the rough, dried mucous membrane of a cow's tongue.

A jackal's tail or a silver jackal's tail corresponds to our handkerchief 320
or they use a thick bushy tail of the Otocyon megalotis Desmar, or at times 329
a bundle of ostrich feathers; "!na-bes or gams is the name of this handker-
chief.

The coastal Hottentots have more fleas and the inhabitants of the more [327]
elevated parts of the country have more lice.

F. Medicine

The medicine of the Hottentots has not been aided at all by the ex- 826
cellent anatomical knowledge which each person acquires in his childhood 753
from cutting up slaughtered cattle and wild game. They have no or only
isolated and confused ideas about the functions of the individual parts of the
body and if there is no externally evident reason for the trouble in the sick
body, they do not use their anatomical knowledge.

Thus they attribute various pains in the upper leg or even in the lower 757
leg to a falling of the intestines. Massaging in the direction towards the 767
abdomen is supposed to press the displaced intestines back. But first the sick

leg is massaged in the direction towards the foot to empty them. Thus 753 ●
the excrement is supposed to be pushed out; where it goes does not 757
worry them. The actual success which they often have with this cure confirms the diagnosis sufficiently in their eyes.

1. Surgical Treatment

Their procedure is cleaven when surgical treatment seems necessary. 757
a) Blood-letting is a universal treatment for every difficulty localized to any extent. In the simplest case, cuts about one centimeter long, /gu-regu, are made in the skin above the ailing part of the body. Nearly all the Hottentots, whom I examined closely when taking physical measurements, showed traces of this blood-letting. In one case the pubic area and the small of the back were covered with some forty scars a half centimeter long. The wounds had been made when he was a child by his father to cure "the deep descent of the intestines into the lower trunk" from which the child suffered.

[313] They call blood-letting in the narrower sense "!hui-ǂkyâo-rub (opening a vein). It is used particularly for stiffness and pains in the limbs and is supposed to prevent them from swelling. The patient must first take a hot drink before the cutting. Then the blade of a sharp knife is placed across the vena mediana cubiti in the elbow joint of the right arm and the handle of the knife is struck with a little piece of wood so that the blade enters. They take about 100 centimeters of blood as far as I could estimate.

Bleeding /gu-ǂn follows the opening of the vein. A goat or calf horn serves as an instrument for bleeding (!hũ-//nãĩ, from !hũ/ - sucking marrow out of bones), by cutting off the point, they make a second opening for sucking which the bleeder puts in his mouth. The opposite, wider opening which is also filled with [illegible] firmly pressed on the bleeding cut. They do not empty the horn filled with blood on the ground but on a wet cake of cow dung to get rid of the sight of human blood quickly. [Picture. Horn for Bleeding. 1/2 natural size] [Picture. Closing a Wound].

The wound is closed in the following manner. They stick a thorn, 752
d, firmly into the skin, twice (by c, to the right and also to the left near the vein a) in such a way that it lies diagonally across the cut b. Under the free ends of the thorn they slip a thread and tie it firmly

together. The skin between the places where the thorn has penetrated is thus raised in two folds, which press firmly together and so close the vein. The thorn is then shortened at both ends so that it disappears under the swelling made by the thread. The arm must be carried in a sling until the thorn and thread come out spontaneously. 752

[213] To the west of !Hoerga!nas, in the border territory of the Witbooi and the Red Nation, a small health resort, Hottentot style, is supposed to have existed when there was still plenty of water. People who had any kind of sickness and wanted to have their veins opened, waded bare-legged in the pond of /Oas and let themselves be bitten by the numerous leeches which lived there. 757

If one other than a doctor may be permitted an opinion and if one may support this opinion by the language usage of the Boers (which is well known to the doctors in the Cape Colony), then I would like to claim that, judging from the most obvious symptoms, the sickness which the Hottentot calls "nu/!nu/a-b, or more frequently calls ||-hab, borrowing from the Boer Dutch "vuilziekte," is syphilis. Individual syphilitic sores are superficially opened with a half-sharp instrument that tears rather than cuts (for example a quartz splinter). The wound is washed with sea water by the coastal dwellers, with a soap made from ashes of a bush called /hganis by the natives of the interior. Then the wound deepened by scraping. As soon as the bleeding stops, they sprinkle the wound with seaweed powder. The strong hollow stalks of the Ecklonia buccinalis (L.) Hornem. (called "/hai-/i), which the sea casts up everywhere are slowly charred (not turned to ashes) and the coals pulverized. Before putting powder on the wounds, the sick person takes two swallows of sea water. [165] [278]

If the sores appear all over the body, then, as a native witness reported, the sick person is washed and the skin is scratched with finger-nails until the body streams with blood. One man does the scratching, but others are needed to hold the patient firmly, who kicks about wildly from the pain and sometimes goes limp, forcing the process to be interrupted. Powdering concludes the procedure. If new sores form under the scab, the skin is torn open again.

For assistants of the opposite sex, only the spouse or old people are permitted. The treatment itself may only be performed by those who already have had the sickness. Otherwise, they say, the treatment would be of no avail. But they also recognize the danger of infection, for the sick person may not share either bed or eating or drinking utensils with healthy people. They believe that the person is cured after the disappearance of the sores and that immunity has been acquired. [755]

[214] b) A treatment other than bleeding is used for some foot ailments. One sickness is designated as "Furunculus," ǂhûi-gorêi-hes, or pus-foot, ǂhûi-ǃnaro-s which begins with the swelling of the whole foot or of individual toes. The parts of the sole that one steps on become painful, turn red, and the skin peels. In the middle of the inflamed area, a longish dark foreign body, about 2 centimeters in size, ǂhûi-s, shines through. To hasten its discharge, the foot is placed in the stomach dung of a freshly slaughtered goat and kept in the small stomach of the same animal for the night. If the inflamed area opens, then they warm and soften horse manure in water, smear the foot with it, and tie it up until the dark foreign body leaves the wound.

During the cold season, the Hottentot often suffers from bloody festering cuts on the inside joints of his second to fourth toes. The sickness is called ǂa-ragorêi-hes, i.e. "cutting toes."

Festering cuts, ǂa-hegu, in the skin of the heel, are smeared with ear wax and sometimes stitched with thorn and hair if they do not have a needle and thread. To heal wounds in the toes, the foot is placed in the warm, unclean(ed) reticulum of a goat or a sheep, or, best of all, of a cow (because it is the biggest). The foot is kept there until the contents of the stomach have cooled. The method of healing is known to every Hottentot by the name °/ha-/ra(n)/i/.

The freshly removed skin of the lizard of the Agama genus is considered a good plaster to put on the feet when the skin has peeled. The fresh brain of these animals is smeared on as a salve. The dried root of the Zygophyllum cuspidatum L. f. (called ǂhaa/hais because of its brown leaves) is made into a salve for wounds after being pulverized and mixed with fat.

I have not been able to differentiate the various kinds of sores which have the name ǃna-/ugu.

Characteristic of the metaphorical language of the Hottentots is the expression which describes the spreading of the seat of a disease: the sickness "builds here" (ǂam, v.).

Splinting (/gub-) of a broken bone (ǂûbo-s) is the final surgical accomplishment we shall mention. They tie five narrow strips of wood around the broken limb, which they tie to each other at both ends, so that they make a kind of casing. The limb is first wrapped in a skin, taking care that the blood can circulate freely.

[215] 2. Midwifery

One can gain an insight into the intimate problems in this field only after one has acquired the confidence of the older women after a lengthy stay in the country, making a serious breach of the question possible. Once one has this confidence, one is probably safe from deliberate lies. However, one should never depend on the information of one person, but always test the reliability of what one has heard on other people in different places, without ever revealing the least bit of information which one has already acquired. In this way with time and patience I was able to acquire information that was plausible and not contradictory about a series of points from the natives. It was impossible for me to make direct observations in this area. I have tried to fill out the gaps by having a trusted person show me personally the techniques which I had learned were used with pregnant women, those giving birth, and those who have just given birth.

a) Pregnancy (!hâ-i, !gu/m, v.). The Hottentot woman does not usually consider missing a period the first symptom of pregnancy, but rather the discomforts of pregnancy, *//gao-nâ, such as loss of appetite, nausea, vomiting, etc., assuming that the person concerned otherwise does not suffer from these disturbances. The loss of color in the face during pregnancy they designate with the same word that is used for make-up: /ho/ho. Whether the above-mentioned custom of painting the face originally had some connection with pregnancy is difficult to decide.

The Hottentot women claim that they can definitely determine pregnancy in the second month by massaging the abdomen and by feeling the changed uterus through the wall of the stomach. As soon as pregnancy is suspected, the greased abdomen is massaged 2 to 3 times a week by two women for 1 to 1 1/2 hours. The massage begins at the middle line between the breasts and works downward. They work sideways along the curve of the ribs with wide spread thumbs, and work back again with all five fingers flat, from the area above the iliac crests to the front wall of the abdomen. They listen very carefully to see if they hear a gurgling in the large intestine. If they have found gas, [216] they are satisfied. They push it down on the left side of the body until it escapes to prevent it going "to the head," because there it would produce fever in the woman. The massage ends with a gentle pressing upwards of the groin on both sides of the middle line between the breasts.

They usually bother very little about the afterbirth. They do not care whether it comes out after one hour or days later. In one case the afterbirth still had not come out after 3 days, the woman had developed a fever and the umbilical cord, which was tied to a pole of the hut, had shriveled up to a dry rope. None of the women thought of interfering. A doctor who was traveling through removed the afterbirth.

However, in other cases, medicine is given when the afterbirth does not appear. A resin comes out of the lower trunk of a bush called *ghu-ses, which becomes incrusted with sand and dust and hardens into dirty lumps with a rough surface. This mass, */oums-b, (cf. Analysis in the Appendix) is crushed and brewed with hot water. This drink, especially when prepared strong, is also considered a good way to produce bleeding after birth, because they consider it fatal if it does not occur. Sometimes they try a favorite remedy, wrapping in skins, if the afterbirth still has not appeared on the third day. The tail end of a freshly removed goat skin that is still warm is pressed (the wet side towards the inside) on the woman's loins, drawn between her legs and spread out on her lower body.

The afterbirth is buried in the ground.

[221] The nursling. Not much is done to the new citizen of the earth. He is not washed but wiped off with a skin, his whole body greased and wrapped in a skin after the umbilical cord has been wound in a circle. A salve made from fat and the powder of burned ostrich egg shells is always kept prepared for him. This is rubbed on the child's forehead, temples, and nose, and especially in his nostrils, to produce sneezing and thus expel mucus. The fontanels are well greased because they believe that sicknesses enter there most readily.

The newborn children of the pure Hottentots that I saw on the morning after birth had rosy, not fawn-colored skin. [Picture. A Nursing Topnaar Hottentot Woman, about 30 Years Old].

When the umbilical cord falls off, they rub in the wound a charred, dry, tinderey powder which is prepared from the underground parts of Oxalis caledonica Sond (called */hu'khe-n. If the wound is inflamed, this mass is rubbed on mixed with fat.

A widespread prejudice that seriously endangered the continuance of the Little Namaland Hottentot race, was that the mother's milk was not considered good for a child until the third day. Until then the newborn was given thinned goat's milk or cow's milk, unless another woman who was nursing a child, also nursed him. In other cases, when the poor

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

The [illegible] [illegible]
gets her married sisters and her brothers' wives to make a little mat enclosure, *khara oma*, inside at the back of the family hut, on the left hand side. This enclosure is a screened-off segment, measuring two to three feet across at its widest point, in the least regarded part of the hut; and it always has its own little opening leading out behind the hut. While it is being got ready the mother goes to fetch a woman who, though now past childbearing, has been renowned for her former fertility. This woman takes the girl on her back (whence she is known by the name *ube nuvis*), carries her into the *khara oma*, and cares for her while she is there. Should the period come on in the veld far from home, the girl's companions will on no account let her walk, lest all the roots and berries in her path scorch up, but will do their best to carry her home on their backs, taking turn and turn about.

Once in the *khara oma*, the girl must lie quite still, wrapped closely in her sheepskin karos. The wind must on no account blow on her, nor must she be exposed to the sun. She may not leave her little hut except at night, and then it must be by the back opening, with one woman behind her and one in front to screen her from view. All the time she is thus secluded she must be careful not to touch cold water on any pretence whatever, nor may she speak above a whisper. It is said that if she talks aloud she will be a chatterbox and meddle in all sorts of affairs later, and will get a bad name among the people. The hearth fire in the outer hut is now also /*nas*, and nothing at all may be cooked at it, nor may any pregnant or menstruating or senile woman come and sit by it, lest dire misfortune befall the girl. No man or boy, again, will come near her, for fear of dread consequences to himself. It is believed that should anyone infringe these or any of the other /*nas* restrictions during this time, some sort of sexual disease would beset him; and this could only be prevented from proving fatal if he were able to persuade the *ube nuvis* (the old woman officiating) to inoculate him with her "essence" and so free him.

The girl, however, is visited by her older girl friends, who grind sweet-smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, with which she is copiously covered. The time of her seclusion is variously reported as from two or three days to a month. Some girls who had recently been through the rites said they had been secluded for a fortnight; and Mrs. Hoernlé is inclined to think that most probably the time was longer in days gone by, for one of the chief things required of the girl while in her little hut is that she should get fat, with a smoothly shining skin.

§ [The girl mother. — Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

then she must go to the water and commence throwing it about, and when she is tired her servant must continue to do so, otherwise the husband will return empty-handed.[1] Schultze mentions also an old-time regulation that the night before hunting the elephant every hunter had to refrain from sexual intercourse. Should a man violate this rule, the elephant would point him out with its trunk and "pile up earth against him"; the culprit was then no longer allowed to take part in the hunt.[2]

Men out hunting, again, may not mention the name of the baboon, otherwise they will find nothing. The lion and the jackal, in the same way, must be referred to not by their proper names, but by circumlocutions, the former as *gai /gab*, big brother, the latter as */gai-kommab*, he-who-may-not-be-called. Anybody killing a baboon or a lion must afterwards slaughter a sheep or a goat, and hang the lowest cartilage from the spine of this animal round his neck with a strap so that it lies between his shoulder-blades, otherwise he will suffer from lumbago! Anybody, again, who has killed a dassie must hang its skull on one of the poles in his hut, so that he may soon kill another. If a hunter has shot game, and the bullet does not cause immediate death, the man will throw into the air a handful of sand, taken from the footprints of the animal; this, it is believed, will soon bring the animal down.

Omens also enter largely into the life of the hunter. If a hare crosses his path, he will immediately return home; but if it runs in the same direction as he is proceeding, the omen is good. So, too, if a certain kind of chameleon creeps on him or his weapons, or on anything belonging to him, when he is resting on the road, he is assured of success; and again the korhaan, if it does not fly far from him and soon sits down again, is believed to give luck, but if it continues to fly far away he had better return.[3]

These magic and beliefs almost certainly represent only a fragment of Hottentot hunting observances and lore. In them, however, we can see how in hunting by pursuit, where the elements of chance and danger are always present, elements beyond rational control based on experience and technical efficiency, these ritual observances and beliefs bring confidence to the hunter and assure him of good results or prevent him from ill-luck, enable him, that is, to maintain

[1] Fourie, *loc. cit.*, 99. [2] Cp. Alp, *op. cit.*, 189.
[3] Chase, "Anecdotes of the Hottentots," pt. 1; Rohrs, *op. cit.*, 84-5; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 189.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

775 sons, do not now move the kraal or even the hut of the dead person after a death has taken place among them; but we have already noted an illustration that the same belief exists among them, in the rites to be performed when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. The ghosts of the //*naun*, the ancestors, haunt the place, and one must protect oneself against them and propitiate them if one is to escape. So, too, when a man goes visiting relatives elsewhere he must be specially protected from the ghosts of that locality.[1] Vedder describes the same belief in somewhat different form when he says: "He who treads on a grave, passes on unmindfully, or points at a grave with his finger, has disturbed the rest of the dead and must expect his revenge."[2]

These remarks show that the attitude of the living towards the ghost is on the whole one of dread. Nowadays, says Mrs. Hoernlé, there are great differences among the people with regard to the dread of the */kai /aun*, some people not fearing to go even to the grave, whereas others would on no account go near one, especially after sunset. "If one asks a Nama why he is afraid of the grave, he answers it is because of the thing that is there, the skeleton, which he says is a fearsome thing. No Nama will touch a dead man's bones, if he can help it, and on the Orange River, when I found a skeleton on the sand dunes and picked it up, my native guide told me the */kai /aun* would surely follow us, did they not know I was not afraid of them."[3]

[761] Underlying this dread is the belief that the */kai /aun*, the ghosts,
• 753 cause most of the sickness and death, either in themselves, or through
the *!gui aops*, the magicians.[4] Often, when a man has died, he
[75] appears to a member of his family in sleep. When the sleeper wakes, he will say, *//gâs oai, /uri /kêp /gâike te go mu*, "no flesh, a white bone alone I saw." The old people then say that the person who has died has come to fetch another of them—one of the family will die. Again, when people are alone the */kai /aun* come chasing them, "and I have had many an instance given me," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "of persons arriving home utterly worn out and exhausted after such a chase, who almost always died shortly afterwards. In Windhoek among the Zwartboys I found the */kai /aun* were very much dreaded, and I was told of very many cases where they had appeared to the people during the influenza epidemic, when they had tried to drag

[1] V. above, p. 289.
[2] "The Nama," 133.
[3] Op. cit., 318. A similar connexion indicating great fear of skeletons is recorded by Lichtenstein, *Reisen im Südlichen Afrika*, ii, 35-6.
[4] Hoernlé, loc. cit.; Hahn, op. cit., 80.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

let rain "[1]; while "if a heavy thunderstorm is approaching, and the country is resounding from the roaring of the thunder, and the lightnings disperse the darkness", the people assemble for a */gui*, a religious dance, and, while dancing, sing the following[2]:—

!Gaunu se /Gaes	The Heart of the Thunderer
!Hanaunuse!	Son of the Thunderhead!
/Gorā-khai, /Gaunusa!	There leaves, loud-speaking Gaeb!
/Oasi gubare,	Talk softly, please,
/Hanā ī'aes ō-kā-aunasi;	For I have no guilt;
/Ohaere	Let me alone! (Forgive me?)
/Oaraga ranige.	For I have become quite weak.
/Gaeb se!	Then, O Gaeb!
/Hanse aese!	Son of the Thunderhead!

This may be compared with a statement made by Valentijn, who touched at the Cape in 1705. He speaks of the "Supreme Ruler" *Khourou* (i.e. */Gurub*, the thunder) and of the "Great Chief" or "God" *Thabou* or *Thik-qua* (i.e. *Tsui ||Goab*), "who dwells on high, and to whom they showed respect, especially during great storms of thunder and lightning . . . saying, if it thunders, the Great Chief is angry with us."[3] Almost verbally the same was said to Hahn by an old Nama man: "The people say, if it is thundering, the Lord [*/Khab*, i.e. *Tsui ||Goab*] is speaking; he is scolding them."[4]

Another quotation throws further light upon the conception of *Tsui ||Goab*. Alexander states that the Hottentots of the Kuiseb River in South-West Africa had to make an offering to *Tsuib* before they could drink water with safety.[5] Alexander calls the man of whom he speaks a Bushman, but his name shows that he was a Nama. "Numeep, the Bushman guide, came to me labouring under an attack of dysentery, and said that he was about to die! I asked him what had occasioned the disease, and he said that it was from having dug for water at a place called Kuisib, in the bed of the Kuisib River, without first having made an offering, and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him. I asked him, what he meant by saying that he had made no offering at Kuisib. 'Before any Bushman,' said Numeep, 'digs for water at Kuisib he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the Narra, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare as an offering to Toosip, the old man of the water.' I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip. 'No, I have never seen him, nor has anyone else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great Redman[6] with white hair, and who can do

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 129–30. [2] Ibid., 59–60. [3] Loc. cit.
[4] Op. cit., 50–1. [5] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, II, 125.
[6] "Redman," *Saro-khoib*, is another name used for themselves by the Namas, in distinction to the negroes, whom they call *Saro-khoin*, "black man," and the Europeans or "white men" *Sarā-khoin*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

753 776 782 us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.' 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at the water place?' 'We say, Oh! great Father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of a rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water, and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry that if you had not helped me I must have died.'"

773 776 821 Mrs. Hoernlé comments upon this: "Nowadays the natives do not know anything of Tusip, but Tup is the rain and Tu /oap is the rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver."[1] But in the seventies of last century, Hahn was one day in the company of an old Topnaar man when very heavy thunder clouds were towering above the horizon. "We both looked with great enjoyment towards the clouds, calculating that in a few hours' time the whole country ought to swim in water. 'Ah,' he said, 'there comes Tsui //Goab in his old manner, as he used to do in the times of my grandfathers. You will see to-day rain, and very soon the country will be covered by Tusib!' I asked him what he meant by Tusib. He answered, 'When the first green grass and herbs come after the rain, and in the morning you see that green shining colour spread over the country, we say: *Tusib ke /haba ra /ga*, Tusib covers the earth.'" *Tusib*, Hahn says elsewhere, is also a local name for *Tsui //Goab*, or, better, */Namab*. "*Tu* means to rain. *Tusib*, therefore, the Rain-giver, or the one who looks like rain, who comes from the rain—that is, the one who spreads the green shining colour over the earth."[2]

821 776 773 796 *Tsui //Goab*, it is now evident, must be regarded as the personification of the natural forces producing rain. In a country like South Africa, where water is in places exceedingly scarce, it is not surprising that special importance should be attached to it by the natives, who depend upon its natural supply for the well-being both of themselves and of their herds. The annual rain ceremony, the most important religious ceremony of the Hottentots, aims directly at providing an adequate supply of water for the life of the tribe; but even when water is available it plays a large part, as we have seen, in their ceremonial practices.

823 751 784 Whilst in the normal routine life of the people it is used with impunity, and indeed with little regard or ceremony, it acquires on critical occasions a twofold significance. It becomes, on the one hand,

[1] "Social Value of Water among the Hottentots," 322. [2] Op. cit., 64, 139.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1938
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

776 says that the Nama believe that "war and all evil come from the devil, *Amowaap* (*//Gaunab*); he is black, say the magicians, who assert that they sometimes see him. Because he is evil, sacrifices and offerings must be made to him".[1]

It will be noticed that according to both Kolb and Wikar *//Gaunab* is the source of all evil; he is appeased by sacrificial offerings, and he stands in close contact with the magicians. These statements are supported by later writers. Hahn says that the Topnaars of Walvis Bay, one of the Nama tribes, offer prayers to *//Gaunab*, so as not to provoke his anger, although they call him an evildoer, who [759] even kills them when they are out hunting.[2] All sicknesses are expected to come from *//Gaunab*, or from his servants, the witchcraft practitioners.[3] One informant said that the Rainbow was made 776 by *//Gaunab*: it is a fire which he has kindled. *//Gaunab* deceives 821 the people, and leads them into that fire, and there they die. Such people are spoken of as *//Gauna- //o-khoin*, *//Gauna*-dying people. The eclipse of the moon, comets, and the Aurora australis, all evil omens, are also connected with *//Gaunab*, who through them threatens war and death.[4] Among the Korana mothers used to tell their children to beware of *//Gaunab*, as he is a great evildoer, who can kill them.[5]

//Gaunab is also another name, as we have seen, for *Sarás*, the whirlwind, which threatens sickness and death. He is further 776 intimately connected with the */hai /nun*, the malicious ghosts of the 775 dead; in fact, *//gaunagu* in the plural is simply another name for 791 */hai /nun*, and even the term *//gaunab* in the singular may be used for a ghost. It may also be noted that magicians among the Naman are considered in some way connected with the */hai /nun*, and therefore have an immunity from their evil effects which others have not. These facts all suggest that *//Gaunab* must be identified with the */hai /nun*, the ghosts or spectres of the dead. This is also implied in Valentijn's statement noted above, and it will be remembered that one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants insisted very earnestly that the */hai /nun* were simply *//Gaunab*. From this it would appear that *//Gaunab*, when looked upon as an individual being, as he certainly is at times, may be regarded as a personification of the ghosts of the dead, i.e. of certain animistic beliefs. On the evidence available there seems no other adequate interpretation.

[1] "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," 104. [4] Op. cit., pp. 86.
[2] Ibid., 87; cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Natives," 320.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 74, 89. [5] Ibid., 62.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

The only [illegible]
165 speak of sore breasts, ophthalmias, and umbilical hernias as the common
177 diseases, and coughs appear to have been frequent. After the advent of the white man, smallpox, measles and less clearly diseases swept the country like plagues. An epidemic of smallpox in 1713 totally wiped out many of the Cape Hottentot groups, and greatly weakened the numerical strength and organization of others; a similar outbreak in 1755 again decimated them, and to add to their woes leprosy attacked them; while in 1864 large numbers of Namas died from smallpox. At the present time, syphilis, another infliction due to the white man, is widespread among them; tuberculosis, fevers, paralysis, ophthalmias, and chicken-pox are other common diseases, while during the cold season they catch severe colds, and, like all the other inhabitants of South Africa, they suffered heavily in the influenza pandemic of 1918.[1]

753 All maladies, says Mrs. Hoernlé,[2] are divided by the Hottentots
757 into two groups. First there is *//aiseisa*, "sickness," which they regard
[824] as due to some misplacement of the internal organs. According to their notions of anatomy these organs have weird ways of wandering about the body. The treatment is massage, to restore each organ to its proper place; and in such massage the Hottentots are very highly skilled. The other group of diseases is called by the same name as death, *//gu*, and in the treatment of these a great variety of herbs and roots is employed. Some of the herbs are considered so valuable that journeys are made from tribe to tribe to get them, although among the herbs found in any particular territory there are always
[759] some which may serve as substitutes. But however powerful the remedy may be, if it is to be effective it must always be applied by someone who has had the disease and recovered. The most effective medicine will fail unless used by the right person.[3]

757 The principal diseases described to Mrs. Hoernlé as receiving
784 this latter treatment are *//aotse*, paralysis, *//kais*, "fever," *//arab*,
783 varicose veins, and */aomis*, lupus. Any man falling sick from any one of these or the other diseases called *//gu* becomes */aun*, and the treatment adopted to cure him is exactly similar to that described in the *//aarriage* ceremony. The patient is secluded in a hut, and

[1] Laidler, "The Magic Medicine of the Hottentots," 433; Theal, *History of S. Africa before 1795*, ii. 431 ff., iii. 98, 316 ff.; Nolte, "Krankheiten . . . der Nama," 670; Schinz, *op. cit.*, 391; von Francois, *op. cit.*, 219–16; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 207; *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 6, 983–6 passim.

[2] "Conception of Isan among the Hottentots," 77–9.

[3] Cf. Schultze, *op. cit.*, 213.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1939
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

a special animal, a sheep or a goat, is slaughtered. The officiating person makes some cuts in the patient's body over the part affected. With a small horn he cups blood from these cuts, mixes it together, and adds some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. Next he scrapes some dirt from his arm and mixes it with the blood, to which he also adds the ingredients of the vegetable medicines. This mixture he finally rubs into the cuts. Till these have healed the patient must observe the customary /*nas mentiliions*: he must remain in the hut, he must not touch anyone with his hands, nor must he touch cold water or the pots. When at last the cuts are healed, the officiating person cleanses him in the customary manner, he puts on a set of new clothes and gives the old ones to his attendant, the usual purification meal is held, and the fire in the hut cleared away and renewed. Finally the reintroduction to the duties of ordinary life takes place in the usual manner, and the patient is free to mix with other people once more.

No other writer on the Hottentots mentions this particular grouping of diseases. It is implied, however, in Laidler's statement that there is a classification into minor and major troubles; but he adds that the former are treated by the herbalists, while in the latter the first step is consultation with the "witch doctor" (i.e. the */gui aob*) who is usually himself also a herbalist.[1] He makes no reference to the fact, explicitly noted by both Mrs. Hoernlé and Schultze, that certain diseases can only be treated by people who have themselves had the disease and recovered from it. Many writers, as we have seen, corroborate the calling in of the */gui aob* in case of illness, and it would seem that one of his ordinary duties is to discover the source of the sickness. His method of doing so is nowhere clearly described, although Laidler vaguely mentions divination by examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal. Where the patient is held to have been bewitched, the */gui aob* also undertakes to cure him. His treatment in such cases, in addition to the "extracting" of the foreign bodies thought to be causing the illness, is apparently similar to that employed in the diseases known as *hip*, since, as we have seen, the dirt scraped from his body is an essential ingredient in any medicine he gives. It is obvious, from what has just been noted, that he does not undertake the treatment of every kind of disease.

All this implies that more than one class of persons may be called in to treat the sick and injured, the healer differing according to

[1] Op. cit., 433, 434.

[illegible] 77

dung are sprinkled. After that the man is free to go about his duties inside or, "now587
are done" the people say of a person thus freed from the influence of lues.[1]

That the Hottentots attach great importance to these ceremonies may be judged from the care with which they still perform them. I made inquiries among people who had been operated more than once, and found that in almost every instance the operation had been performed. One old man, /Aráib, had been operated upon three times and had himself performed the operation many times. One instance was cited to me of a woman inland from Walfish Bay who was dying as a result of neglecting to carry out these ceremonies. I went to see her, and certainly she was a terrible spectacle. She was eaten up with disease and died soon after. I failed to enquire how long she had been ill.

Great care is taken to conceal these customs from the white man, and in Namaland the people professed great indignation at first when they heard I knew about the ceremony. "Is that a thing we discuss with white people?" one old woman said. I had been told of the ceremony soon after my arrival in Walfish Bay by an English woman who had been born and brought up among the Hottentots, had a genuine interest in them, and so had their confidence. I should mention here that I have no record of this ceremony among the Hottentots south of the Orange river, and do not know whether they have the custom or not.

Treatment of certain diseases. Schultze[2] has given an admirable account of the 767
Hottentot methods of treating sickness and disease, and has described in detail the surgical 753
methods used in dressing wounds, cupping a patient, etc., but he makes no mention of the ceremonies attaching to some cures or attempted cures. It is this side of the subject which I wish to describe here. Roughly, one might say, all maladies are divided by the Hottentots into two groups. (a) First there is /áisen, "sickness" which they regard as due to some misplacement of the internal organs. According to their notions of anatomy these organs have weird ways of wandering about the body. The treatment is massage, to restore each organ to its proper place. In such massage the Hottentots are very highly skilled. (b) The other group of diseases is called by the same name as death, //ás, and it is chiefly for this group that the procedure now to be described is used, though I do not wish to imply that the distinction is clear in the minds of the Hottentots, or that the two methods of treatment cannot be used together. Indeed, for paralysis, a very frequent [64]
disease, especially among young children, both methods are always used. A great variety of roots and herbs is employed in the treatment of this second group. Some of the herbs are considered so valuable that journeys are made from tribe to tribe to get them, though

[1] These herbs used as medicines and for medicinal purposes, as here, often from tribe to tribe. The dried and the [illegible] were used by the [illegible].

[2] L. Schultze, Aus Namaland und Kalahari, p. 311 sqq.

753 among the herbs which are to be found in any particular territory are always some
757 which may serve as substitutes. But however powerful the remedy may be, if it is to be effective, it must always be applied by someone who has had the disease and been cured of it. The most effective medicine will fail unless used by the right person.

758 The chief diseases described to me as receiving this treatment are //nubes, "paraly-
759 sis", //khis, "fever", *ǂ'arub*, "various veins", and !nomis, a disease called lupus by my
767 interpreter, which I suspect is cancer. Whether in the old days people with some of these
164 dread diseases were effectively isolated, I do not know, though the Hottentots describe some of them as *wild* //ǂi, "contagious diseases". Certain it is that today, especially in Walfish Bay, the people are eaten up with these diseases, though inland they appear to be less prevalent. The treatment, when carried out, is exactly similar to that described in the remarriage ceremony, except that there is one important point on which I find my information fails me. I cannot say definitely that the "sacramental" feast takes place on these occasions. In one record it is stated that when various veins are being treated, the tube of the goat killed is strung on a stave together with the tail of the animal and tied round the ankle of the sufferer, just as in the remarriage ceremony it was tied round the woman's waist. But whether the goat is eaten in company, I do not know. I regret that my information is not unequivocal on this point.

756 Otherwise the statements are clear enough. Gottlieb says, "when a man is sick
757 (//ǂa) he is lean, and must look after himself. He mustn't touch anyone with his hands, he mustn't touch cold water or the pots. When the cuts which have been made to inject medicine are healed (/ori), then the person who cut him must clean him with fat and milk mixed with cowdung; then he is taken to the well and has clay rubbed on his legs. He has also to take off all his old clothes, and give them to the one who cuts him. Then they say 'he/she let go'; 'you are clean.'"

/Ariseb said, "Paralysis is cured by cutting and putting in the dirt of one who has already had it. It is no simple task to undertake to cure anyone, for if anything goes wrong the people are sure to think something has been omitted or not done right." He spoke feelingly after much experience. Other informers mention ingredients which are mixed with the dirt, the chief of them being //nubes ǂkîp, "paralysis stick", the ground bark of a little plant.

Hannah !Amatis had an adopted son, a boy of about eighteen, who had the disease called !nomis (lupus). She was most disheartened about him. She had had him cut four times by different people, on either side of the nose and in the nape of the neck, and had had bruised ǂkîp, together with the grease of these persons, rubbed in. All of them had had hands and been cured, according to Hannah. When I saw the boy, he had just come from his last treatment, which had taken place some distance inland. He looked very ill.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Sims

might take them more or less for granted, that is to say, as Professor Brown puts it, "he does not of necessity consciously and directly realise that value. He is made to realise it indirectly, through the belief impressed upon him by tradition, that the thing in question affords protection against danger."* And, further, I would show, that this same protective thing is dangerous apart from the full social life. It is not claimed that the leaders of the tribe have wittingly used these customs to make the individuals in it appreciate the blessings they have, but an analysis of primitive ceremonial enables us to conclude that this is the psychological basis of many of the customs, and that they are the means used to maintain the cohesion of the tribe, by making its members realise that to society they owe the things of value they have, so that they are willing to keep up the old customs and traditions on which it is believed the well-being of the whole depends. "So that the protective uses of such things," says Professor Brown, "are really rites or ceremonies by means of which the individual is made to realise (1) his own dependence on the society and its possessions, and (2) the social value of the things in question."† Things which are useful to the community, important for its existence, come to partake, as it were, of the strength of the community, and by this power they afford protection to its members.

Let us first consider the protective power of water. Among the Topnaars of Walvis Bay and the Zwartboys of Franzfontein, and probably among all the Namas, cold water is, or was formerly, thrown on the grave of a person newly buried, and often the men return again the next day to throw more water on the grave. The reason given me was that it hardened the grave, so that no wild beasts could dig there, but the reason given to Theophilus Hahn in the seventies of last century was that it "cooled the soul of the departed."‡ Further, when the people return from the grave to the kraal, all the inmates, except the bereaved family and the near relatives, who must on no account touch water, wash their hands in cold water, and cold water is sprinkled on the place in the hut where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried. In itself the washing of the hands with water might not be significant, especially as each person is obliged by custom to pick up handfuls of earth and throw them into the grave, and one might suppose that they were merely washing the dust off, but we have noted that the near relatives do not touch the water, and, further, the reason given for the washing on the part of the other inmates is that they would get sick if they did not do so. The cold water sprinkled in the hut also prevents the sickness that was there from spreading.

Now, one of the great dreads of the Namas is the /Hoi /Khoin, the ghosts which hover over the graves, or come from them, and who formerly were thought to cause most of the sickness among

* *Ibid.*, p. 384.
† *Ibid.*, p. 384.
‡ *Tsuni-/Goam, the Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoin*, T. Hahn, p. 113.

6: Hoerale E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Hahn

might take them more or less for granted, that is to say, as Professor Brown puts it, "he does not of necessity consciously and directly realise that value. He is made to realise it indirectly, through the belief impressed upon him by tradition, that the thing in question affords protection against danger."* And, further, I would stress, that this same protective thing is dangerous apart from the full social life. It is not claimed that the leaders of the tribe have wittingly used these customs to make the individuals in it appreciate the blessings they have, but an analysis of primitive communal customs go to establish that this is the psychological basis of many of the customs, and that they are the means used to maintain the cohesion of the tribe, by making its members realise that to society they owe the things of value they have, so that they are willing to keep up the old customs and traditions on which it is believed the well-being of the whole depends. "So that the protective uses of such things," says Professor Brown, "are really rites or ceremonies by means of which the individual is made to realise (1) his own dependence on the society and its possessions, and (2) the social value of the things in question."† Things which are useful to the community, important for its existence, come to partake, as it were, of the strength of the community, and by this power they afford protection to its members.

Let us first consider the protective power of water. Among the Topnaars of Walvis Bay and the Zwartboys of Franklintein, and probably among all the Namas, cold water is, or was formerly, thrown on the grave of a person newly buried, and often the men return again the next day to throw more water on the grave. The reason given me was that it hardened the grave, so that no wild beasts could dig there, but the reason given to Theophilus Hahn in the seventies of last century was that it "cooled the soul of the departed."‡ Further, when the people return from the grave to the kraal, all the inmates, except the bereaved family and the near relatives, who must on no account touch water, wash their hands in cold water, and cold water is sprinkled on the place in the hut where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried. In itself the washing of the hands with water might not be significant, especially as each person is obliged by custom to pick up handfuls of earth and throw them into the grave, and one might suppose that they were merely washing the dust off, but we have noted that the near relatives do not touch the water, and, further, the reason given for the washing on the part of the other inmates is that they would get sick if they did not do so. The cold water sprinkled in the hut also prevents the sickness that was there from spreading.

Now, one of the great dreads of the Naman is the /Hei /Kûn, the ghosts which hover over the graves, or come from them, and who formerly were thought to cause most of the sickness among

* *Ibid.*, p. 284.
† *Ibid.*, p. 284.
‡ *Tsuni-/Goam, the Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoin*, T. Hahn, p. 113.

6: Hoerale E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Ama

• 753 774 761 the Namaqua, either themselves, or through the Nūki Auga, the modernised men. Nowadays, there are great differences among the people with regard to the dread of the /Hoi /Nūin, some people not hesitating to go even to the grave, whereas others would on no account go near one, especially after sunset. If one asks a Namaqua why he is afraid of the grave, he answers it is because of the thing that is in there, the skeleton, which he says is a fearsome thing. No Namaqua will touch a dead man's bones, if he can help it, and on the Orange River, when I found a skeleton on the sand dunes and picked it up, my native guide told me the /Hoi /Nūin would surely follow us, did they not know I was not afraid of them. When people are alone the /Hoi /Nūin come chasing them, and I have had many an instance given me of persons coming home utterly worn out and exhausted after such a chase, who almost always died shortly afterwards. In Windhoek among the Ewerbeyn I found the /Hoi /Nūin were very much dreaded, and I was told of very many cases where they had appeared to the people during the influenza epidemic, when they had tried to drag their victims off to the grave, that is, to kill them. Further, old Christian, a Bondelswart, told me that often when a man has died he appears to a member of the family in sleep. When the sleeper wakes he will say, "/Gâis mi, 'nei !hûp gûibe to go mo" (an Hottentot, a white horse since I saw). The old people then say that the person who has died has come to fetch another of them; one of the family will die." Relatives, then, especially near relatives, are in much greater danger than other people. They are likely to sicken and die, and it is from the /Hoi /Nūin that this sickness and danger are thought to come. These relatives must go through a much longer process of purification which will be mentioned later on,* but the ordinary mourners, as we have seen, protect themselves immediately by the use of cold water. The next instance of the protective use of water will make the first one clearer. When a whirlwind, a !kuiis, comes swirling through a kraal and passes by a hut, the inmates rush inside, get cold water, and throw it in the path of the wind. Did they not take this precaution someone would surely die. I have exact statements that this is so among the Topnaars, the Zwartboys, the Bondelswarts, three of the aboriginal tribes of Great Namaqualand. This is the description that old /Kabib, the Topnaar, gave me. "In the old days when a whirlwind came by, the people would shout, 'Pho—e, hi re, tsin hâ hâ hun !hoa !nun pho—e' (Pho—e, please depart, what do you seek here, go, go, go, pho—e) and cold water would be quickly fetched and sprinkled in its path." This expression, pho—e, is used only by the Topnaars, so far as I know, among the Namaqua, and the other tribes say the Topnaars got it from the Klip Kafirs or Hau Khoin. Of its exact significance when used by the Klip Kafirs I have at present no information, but by the Topnaars it is often used when making a solemn address of this kind. 823 821 [753]

* See p. 334.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

753 774 774 the Namas, either themselves, or through the /Gei Anga, the medicine men. Nowadays, there are great differences among the people with regard to the dread of the /Hei /Nûs, some people not hesitating to go even to the grave, whereas others would on no account go near one, especially after sunset. If one asks a Nama why he is afraid of the grave, he answers it is because of the thing that is in here, the skeleton, which he says is a loathsome thing. No Nama will touch a dead man's bones, if he can help it, and on the Orange River, where I found a skeleton on the sand dunes and picked it up, my native guide told me the /Hei /Nûs would surely follow us, did they not know I was not afraid of them. When people are alone the /Hei /Nûs come chasing them, and I have had many an instance given me of persons arriving home utterly worn out and exhausted after such a chase, who almost always died shortly afterwards. In Windhoek among the Zwartboys I found the /Hei /Nûs were very much dreaded, and I was told of very many cases where they had appeared to the people during the influenza epidemic, when they had tried to drag their victims off to the grove, that is, to kill them. Further, old Christian, a Bondelswart, told me that often when a man has died he appears to a member of the family in sleep. When the sleeper wakes he will say, "/Gâis mâi, /uri !khîp gûibe te go mâ" (my flesh, a white man alone I saw). The old people then say that the person who has died has come to fetch another of them; one of the family will die.[1] Relatives, then, especially near relatives, are in much greater danger than other people. They are likely to sicken and die, and it is from the /Hei /Nûs that this sickness and danger are thought to come. These relatives must go through a much longer process of purification which will be mentioned later on.* But the ordinary mourners, as we have seen, protect themselves immediately by the use of cold water. 823 824 [753] The next instance of the protective use of water will make the first one clearer. When a whirlwind, a Narin, comes swirling through a kraal and passes by a hut, the inmates rush inside, get cold water, and throw it in the path of the wind. Did they not take this precaution someone would surely die. I have exact statements that this is so among the Topnaars, the Zwartboys, the Red Nation, three of the aboriginal tribes of Great Namaqualand. This is the description that old /Kabib, the Topnaar, gave me. "In the old days when a whirlwind came by, the people would shout, 'Phu—u, hê re, tain hê hê kun !kun !kun phu—u' (Phu—u, please depart, what do you seek here, go, go, go, phu—u) and cold water would be quickly fetched and sprinkled in the path." This expression, phu—u, is used only by the Topnaars, so far as I know, among the Namas, and the other tribes say the Topnaars got it from the Klip Kafirs or Hau Khoin. Of its exact significance when used by the Klip Kafirs I have at present no information, but by the Topnaars it is often used when making a solemn address of this kind.

---

* See p. 231.

6: Howitt E-S (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Howitt

three years between each group, the members of which call each other "mates." When these children attain the age of puberty, they are no longer children, but neither are they as yet full members of the tribe, nor fully grown up, and so for a period more or less prolonged they belong nowhere and are removed from the solidarity and security of their former position. They are in a state of great instability, exposed to dangers of all kinds, and unless they take the greatest care, and follow scrupulously the course of behaviour prescribed for them by their elders, sickness, if not death, will overtake them; but finally they are received into the structure of the fully grown, and they are then once more secure. Again, people who are married form a definite group, divided, of course, into younger and older married people. If the mate of one of these people dies, the survivor can no longer belong to the group of the married, but must be received into the group of the widowed, and until the full ceremonies have been performed, this person, too, is in a precarious position, and is subject to all kinds of restrictions. Should he or she later on re-marry, they must be received into still another group, that of the twice-wed. But, even within any one group one is liable to be cut off from the full activity of the life, and so from enjoying the full measure of its protection, and at such times, too, life becomes precarious and full of restrictions. Thus, a woman after childbirth is withdrawn from her usual life and must be purified and received once more into her group. So, too, in former days was a girl during her period. Disease, again, removes a man from social life, and he, too, must be cleansed before he can take it up again, and until that is done he must exercise great care. Certain diseases are best cured by the patient being made a member of the group of those who have had it and recovered. The worst a person has had a disease from which he has recovered, the more likely is he to be able to give protection and cure to others. The thing to do, then, is to get oneself inoculated by such a man with his essence, that is, with some of his body-dirt, and so become imbued with his immunity. During this process, again, great care must be exercised.

Now, in all the cases I have instanced, the person whose social equilibrium is, so to speak, unstable, is in great danger from water, and must not on any account touch it. It will be sufficient to give a description of one type of case, for the procedure in the same in all.

When a girl gets her first period, when she is said to Khaet, she is at once cut off from the ordinary life of the kraal, is confined in a small dark hut, built inside her mother's, and must lie there quite still, wrapped closely in her kharoskin blanket, not daring even to speak above a whisper. She is, however, visited by her friends, who grind sweet smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, and with this powder, or buchu, she is copiously covered. All the time she is in this hut she must not touch cold water, and must be protected in many other

7: Lebller D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

South African Journal of Science, Vol. XXV, pp. 433-447, December, 1928.

THE MAGIC MEDICINE OF THE HOTTENTOTS.

BY

F. W. Lebbler, L.R.C.S. & P., D.P.H., F.S.A. (Scot.),
Medical Officer of Health, East London.

Read 4 July, 1928.

Abstract.

Grevenbroeck (1660) and Kolben (1738), who is supposed to have copied most of his information from the first named, both give interesting accounts of the manners and methods of the Hottentot Medicine Men. There was evidently a classification, such as still exists in S.W. Africa and Namaqualand, of disease into minor and major troubles. Minor sicknesses were treated by the herbalists; in the major diseases the first step was consultation with the witch doctor. Divination by examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal was used. There were distinct differences in the treatment of women and men. Much of the treatment was mere trickery such as sucking with the mouth of pieces of bone cut of the back, and other such methods in which sleight of hand was useful.

All of the old observers from Grevenbroeck to Campbell in 1815, corroborate the noise cure, that is, that *after* medicines had failed, the patient was shaken, reproached for his intention of leaving this world by fair speeches and food, and was thumped to keep life in him while the many helpers shrieked and howled. If he died during treatment, the noise was redoubled. After recovery an undermeaken or transition rite was undergone by the fortunate patient.

After the advent of the white man, small pox, measles and lung diseases swept the country like plagues. Previous to the new comers' appearance, the common diseases were sore breasts, ophthalmias and umbilical hernias, the last named due to the use of fat on the new born baby's umbilical cord which retarded drying. Coughs appear to have been common, but there are no ancient Hottentot remedies for rheumatism, venereal disease, or tuberculosis; those for the last two diseases are of quite recent origin. Those used for phthisis are used on the score of analogy; the chief symptom is a cough, therefore, those remedies used for simple coughs are given. For the wasting of advanced tubercular disease there is to-day one outstanding item, Kattendoorn root, the roots of which spread out horizontally beneath the surface of the ground, as do the veins beneath the skin of a muscular man. Therefore, it must, by Hottentot

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1696) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Afr. F817

affection, or gratitude inspired by each. By this constant round of varied pleasures his appetite is frankly whetted. A disobedient wife he beats, one whose badness is beyond reform he puts away.

If a woman bear a live male, the father makes her a present of a cow that is with calf, and the mother is instructed to rear the boy on her own milk and that of the beast; and he brings him up with due care, and sees to it that his property increases. If a woman bear a daughter, the husband gives the same commands to her as when acknowledging a son; but when the child is strong enough to be able of its own accord and unaided to allay its thirst from a vessel with milk, water, or beer, he forthwith joins the cow which he gave for the nourishment of his daughter, together with its calf, to the rest of his herd.[**]) The women lead a hard, rough life whilst producing barrenness; they are scarcely adolescent before they are effete. This is in my judgment the reason for the smallness of the population.

They worship the sun and value it highly as the author of all good. The moon they despise. They call the sun sore, the moon cha, the latter being also their word for dung. It seems as if they imputed to the moon all diseases of men and beasts, the inclemency of the sky, and the prevalence of disasters of every kind.**]) When the moon is full, women who are in their monthly courses blame it for their illness.

[The women stand up and part their legs to make water; the men bend their knees and almost touch their ankles with their hams. Neither sex breaks wind or belches. They express their disgust pretty sharply, and not without excuse, when they meet this fault in Europeans.**)] They also condemn with curt and biting ridicule the precious necklaces of the Europeans, strung with a needle on a slender thread, bought for a greater price than the largest flocks of sheep, and having no other use, convenience, or value than that fictitious one that luxury provides. Yet they themselves sometimes banish or avert diseases by the power of entrails and intestines which they hang round their necks, and by the fat of slaughtered beasts, remedies greatly scoffed at by our countrymen.

---

*) On the Hottentot beliefs relating to the sun and the moon, see above, pp. 139, 141. (The Namaqua use the terms aore for the sun, and //kaob for the moon; and so do the Koranna, so that G. is obviously referring to the Hottentots. He is wrong, however, in stating that the same word is used for "dung" as for "moon." The former, in Nama, is zoab.)

**) The passages within square brackets are omitted by van Oordt in his Dutch translation of G.'s MS.

14.Hahn L-6 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hermann FX13

22. Another custom, common to Khoikhoi, Bushmen and Berg-Damara—of whom the latter have entirely adopted the Khoikhoi language and manners—is the practice of cutting off a finger. This is done even to new-born children who are not a day old. As all sicknesses are expected to come from ǁGoama, or from his servants, the practitioners of witchcraft, it appears that this custom is a kind of sacrifice or offering to ǁGoama; and we are entitled to conclude that, in very remote times, human sacrifice must have been practised by the Hottentot race. 304 171 753 774 782 994

23. If a woman's or young girl's breasts itch, they say: "My son, my cousin, or somewhat relation, will soon arrive." 827

24. If a cow, during the night commences to groan in her sleep, the next morning she is caught, and a piece of skin, just above the nose, is cut, so that it hangs down in the shape of an ear-ring or ear-drops. If this be neglected, the owner of the cow soon will die. 825 741

25. If a girl becomes of age, or if a wedding is to be celebrated, nothing but cows and sheep-cows may be slaughtered; and if any other cattle is killed the couple is sure to live unhappy. The fattest cow or the finest young heifer is chased about the place by the young men, and thrown with stones and beaten with clubs, until she is so exhausted and trembling with fear that she allows everybody to come near and touch her. If she still should kick and show fight, it is a sure sign that the marriage will be a continuation of fights and quarrels between husband and wife. 125 787

26. The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring. I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder-rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the ǂGamiǂnus, on the banks of the Geiǂib 881 [illegible]